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WAR'S AFTERMATH

WAR'S AFTERMATH

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE

EUGENICS OF WAR

AS ILLUSTRATED BY

THE CIVIL WAR OF THE UNITED STATES

AND

THE LATE WARS IN THE BALKANS

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE

In the summer of 1912, the undersigned, under the auspices of the World Peace Foundation, made an attempt to form some measure of the effects, on the Southern States of our National Union, of the reversed selection due to the loss of life in the Civil War of fifty years ago. In this work he was associated with Professor Edward Benjamin Krehbiel, of the chair of Modern History in Stanford University, and with Professor Harvey E. Jordan, of the chair of Histology and Embryology in the University of Virginia. Professor Krehbiel devoted himself to the historical and statistical phases of the subject, while Professor Jordan and the writer considered chiefly the biological elements, especially those related to eugenics and race progress. The present memoir con-

tains an abstract of the material secured and the conclusions reached in this phase of the investigation, the others being later treated elsewhere. It will be freely admitted that all conclusions must be tentative and that no mathematical accuracy in the statement of the eugenic loss of the Civil War is possible. But, on the other hand, the evidence of the magnitude of such loss grows, in cumulating degree, with every additional survey of the facts concerned. The writers are under special obligation to some hundreds of veterans of the Confederate army in Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, and other States for frank and friendly discussion of the questions involved, and to about one hundred others, not personally known, who have answered sympathetically our letters of inquiry.

For the studies in question, Rockbridge and Spottsylvania Counties, in Virginia, with Cobb County, in Georgia, were especially chosen as typical districts. Observa-

tions of minor importance were made in Henrico, Dinwiddie, and Appomattox Counties, in Virginia, Wake County, in North Carolina, and Knox County, in Tennessee. The appended poem, by the undersigned, is suggested by our experiences in "The Wilderness" of Spottsylvania.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

THE RED HOUSE,
HORNTON STREET, LONDON,
July 25, 1913.

NOTE.—An Introduction dealing with the outbreak of the general European war and an additional chapter on Macedonia, both written by Dr. David Starr Jordan while this book was in press, will be found in the succeeding pages.

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INTRODUCTION

1914

THIS little book was written, by my colleague and myself, just at the outbreak of the Balkan War. This note is written at the outbreak of the greater war instigated though not caused by the attempted suppression of Servia and the rape of Belgium. In the mean time the senior author has seen much of the first aftermath of war in other nations. He has traversed Macedonia and beheld its desolation and the expulsion of half its people. He has seen the Bulgarians driven northward by tens of thousands up the Struma Valley from the Greek possessions. He has been cognizant of the forced emigration from Silistria and from Thrace. He has seen Albanians driven from the Novibazar, these in turn driving Greeks by the hundred thousand out of Turkish Thrace. And from the

Greek possessions he has seen Moslems by the thousand leaving in the steerage of steamers bound from Salonica to Stamboul. All these, farmers and villagers, rich or poor, had left behind their holdings with only that which they could carry on their backs. And the burned houses of the refugees of the one race became the new homes of some other. And the way of the refugee is hard, beset by hunger, cold, and the infectious diseases which always follow war. For sanitation implies security and peace, and these the battling ages never knew.

Macedonia is about as large as Virginia. It has had two thousand years of civilization. Aristotle was born there, and alas, Alexander also. But it is still a wilderness, poorly cultivated, scantily cleared. A Chinese proverb tells us, "Where armies quarter, thorns and thistles grow." Armies have quartered in Macedonia for a hundred generations. St. Paul found Christians there,

perhaps as many as exist there now, and at Philippi in Macedonia the last gleam of Roman liberty flickered to extinction. In this old Macedonia are rich farmlands, covered with tangling vines and prairie flowers, seeming never to have known the plough.

How rich the human harvest buried in Macedonia, in the weary warring years from Philippi to Kilkis! Let our imagination compare the men of to-day with the men who might have been: the men of to-day furtively huddled in dirty villages fired by each passing army, and the others lost to the world before they were born because their fathers died in these same armies. "Those who fought the most survived the least," in Macedonia as in Virginia. Only the man who survives is followed by his kind. The man who is left determines the future. From him springs "the human harvest," and, as in Rome, and in every war-swept region, the human harvest in Macedonia is bad.

INTRODUCTION

Since this book was in type, a world revolution has taken place. The flames of the Balkans have spread to greater Europe. A civil war has torn apart the civilization of our times. The Europe we have known, the Europe of science, art, literature, commerce, and industry, exists no more. A mad rush of barbarism has wrecked it all, the barbarism it cherished for its own defense. It has broken all restraining bonds of common interest, of common friendliness, and of common thought. The mailed fist has crashed through the delicate far-flung fabric which has meant so much to us. It has brushed aside our conventions of international law and of personal rights as though these had been cobwebs.

It is not the barbarism of one nation alone. Each nation in its degree has yielded to the same influence. But the democracies of Europe have held it in restraint. The autocracies are its creations. Those nations

which the people do not govern are derelicts on the international sea, dangerous to others, and still more so to themselves. The spirit of Absolutism is everywhere the same. It holds all Europe under martial law, and martial law is not law. It is law's paralysis.

Against the onrush of barbarism, the nations of Europe have created no defense, save barbarism itself. Against the force of arms, they oppose only the force of arms. It is too late to ask if there is a better way. There is no other left to-day. The better way was possible, not now, but ten years ago. In the midst of war, there is but one way out, and that leads onward.

Of the contending nations, Belgium alone had clean hands when the war began. She is destined to be the greatest sufferer to the last, and the sufferings she feels and must feel again it is impossible for the imagination to conceive, or the pen to record.

The economic development of Belgium

is checked for half a century. Her social development is deranged for we know not how long. Exhaustion, stagnation, misery, all these affect the physical, the economic, the social, the intellectual life. Thorns and thistles grow in the harassed mind as in the devastated field. The higher life withers in the atmosphere of poverty and pestilence. The muses flee from the wolf at the door.

Beyond the present loss, when the "human cry as of a lost and deserted child" is hushed, follows the weakening of the national stamina. The best of the young blood is lost. Those who should have been the fathers of the next generation lie in the trenches of Liège, Namur, Dinant, and Charleroi. After each war comes the paucity of genius, the failure of personal initiative. The sons of those whom war could not use replace those who gave their lives for the country. When a man of distinction gives up his life for any cause he sacrifices

more than himself. He closes the door of the long future of those who might have been.

In the strange world of "Pan-Germany" is invented a lying philosophy as a sanction for war. In contemptuous ignorance of all Darwin's work and thought, they call it "Social Darwinism." This philosophy teaches that the "survival of the fittest" imposes on us the necessity of war, that war is, indeed, the sublime instrument by which the Deity ordains the destruction of the humblest of his creatures that his favorites in shining armor may inherit the earth. The small nations and the backward nations must yield to the sway of the strong, and even the strong from time to time must give up the half of their number, as a sacrifice to insure their continued strength: and therefore murder and rapine are necessities of progress. "War without rapine," says Anatole France, "is like tripe without mustard, too insipid" for a man of spirit.

The military exponent of Pan-Germanism, General von Bernhardi, demonstrates that "Law is only for the weak; force is for the strong; law is only a makeshift; might the sole reality." Perverting all history, he would make us believe that in war the fittest survive. "War is as necessary as the struggle of the elements in nature." "Inferior or decaying races would easily choke the growth of the healthy budding element and a universal decadence would follow." The simple fact is that, always and everywhere, war means the reversal of natural selection. Twenty centuries ago, Sophocles declared that "war does not of choice destroy bad men, but good men ever." In every war in every nation there is left "the gap in our picked and chosen the long years cannot fill."

Schiller, one of the noblest spirits in that Germany which Prussian militarism is smothering and poisoning to-day, touched the real

truth in a single line: "Immer der Krieg verschlingt die Besten." ("Always war devours the best.") The best of everything is drawn into its insatiate maw.

In the Civil War between the States, the position of Virginia fifty years ago had much in common with that of Belgium to-day. Neither had any leading part in the original causes of conflict. Both, through geographical position, lay in the very center of devastation. In both the disaster is the sadder because it is spread over generations to come.

As the Union of the States "could not exist half slave, half free," so the union of Europe could not endure with Absolutism and Democracy side by side. No democracy is safe with an autocracy as its neighbor. No mailed despot is safe by the side of a free people.

The "Armed Peace" of Europe, with its mediæval "Balance of Power," carried within itself the certainty of its own destruction.

It is to be destroyed by its own barbarous methods. War is a sword without a hilt which wounds those who wield it as well as those who feel its blade. It is an instrument of barbarism, and civilization can never be secure while calling on barbarism for its defense. No holy war was ever carried on save by the most unholy means. And every war, holy or unholy, wanton or inevitable, brings desolation as its aftermath.

Meanwhile, as I write, the dance of death goes on. Three hundred millions of men and women of Europe, hoping above all for security and peace, stand helplessly by, awaiting the end, suffering the present misery and taking unresisting the final consequences. There is no other way. The god of battles is deaf and blind. "A great soldier like me," said Napoleon, "cares not a tinker's damn for the lives of a million men." He recks no more for the wail of an outraged nation than for the cry of a starving child.

INTRODUCTION

As the future of Europe shall unfold itself, and as the fate of the devastated states shall begin to take form, it may be instructive to glance backward over the half-century which has seen the humiliation and the regeneration of one of the noblest of the commonwealths which make up our Republic, the State of Virginia.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

LONDON, August 25, 1914.

IN THE WILDERNESS

I

I STAND as in a dream within a wood,
A forest crass men call "The Wilderness,"
Of ill-grown oak trees and stunt, scanty pines,
With sumacs dun and huddling sassafras,
Enmeshed with brambles rude and tangling vines;
Its mossy brooksides blue with violets,
Its red soil ever redder with men's hurt.
Men named this forest once "The Poisoned Wood,"
And it was poisoned by the wrath of man,
'T was trebly poisoned by the flames of Hell
That burned through every corner of the wood.

Out from the forest, as in nightmare dream,
Out from its straggling trees and struggling vines,
Out from its red soil, redder with men's hurt,
Its ravaged banksides blue with violets;
From withering venom of its flames of Hell,
I see a sad procession creeping down,
Full seven miles of maimed and broken men,

IN THE WILDERNESS

Full seven miles of ghastly shapes of men,
Pour like a vomit from the Wilderness.
Out from the pious shades of Salem Church,
Out from the charcoal Furnace on the hill,
From sparse farmhouses saturate with dread,
Field hospitals of gruesome awfulness,
Where women, war-crazed, neither knew nor cared
If their own children were alive or dead.
From Sunlight's enfilade where Sedgwick fell,
The cross-roads court-house with the old town pump,
Inviting pause upon the Richmond road,
The Bloody Angle, by McCool's sweet spring,
From the old roadside inn whose awful name
Men spoke in bated whispers—Chancellorsville!

In its green paddock, leading toward the ford
Of Rappahannock and of Rapidan,
Amidst the peach trees' rosy blossoming,
Among the whitewashed shanties of the slaves,
The ground was piled thrice deep with wrecks of men
Living and dying — those which once were men,
The Blue — the Red — commingled with the Gray!
The blazing Inn an awesome funeral pyre.

And whoso sought his friend must pick his way
As one who leaps from floating log to log
In some far Northern river — Chancellorsville!
Men tell us how the angry sun went down,
A bloodshot disk upon a shrinking sky;
And then uprose the great white Maytime moon,
Flooding the forest with her patient light,
Till Horror paled in dumb forgetfulness.

Can we give praise to Lord of Heaven, or Hell,
For aught men did here in the Wilderness?

II

Down in yon somber hollow Jackson fell,
His red hand raised in worship, to the last,
Austere, devoted, of his Duty sure,
For States make Duty of the wrath of man,
Imputing Righteousness to deeds abhorred.
"The soldier has no duty save to die."
And is this Duty that he thus should die?
Are nations built on bones of mangled men?
Have bonds of union no cement save blood?
"Obedience to the Law before all Time!"
But then is such obedience supreme,
Brought to fulfillment through red-handed rage?

IN THE WILDERNESS

"The brave makes Danger Opportunity."
Is there no danger save from cannonades?
Is there no hardier, craftier foe than this
Whose strength is measured by a saber-thrust?
The path to Justice between man and man
Must lead through strife, but not through pools
of blood;
The clash of will, but not the crush of men.
But war's fierce furnace melts the chains of
slaves;
Its march obliterates old vested wrongs;
Foul Bastilles crumble at its trumpet call,
And tyrants gasp at serried hosts of men.
War's candent fire-bath purifies the state,
War's furnace heat the bond of union welds.
Shall not war bring the great Enfranchise-
ment,
The freedom from all shackles of the Past?

He reaps dire harvest who sows dragon's teeth!
When Law is silent, anarch Murder rules;
Law is humanity's consummate flower,
And Love is the fulfillment of the Law.
Its blind and brute denial, that is War,
The Laws of War! In war, there is no law,
Where war is not, there and there only —
Law.

IN THE WILDERNESS

Where armies quarter, thorns and thistles grow.
New wrongs spring ever in the wake of war,
From their hot ashes mount up fresh Bastilles;
The Sutler camps on the Avenger's trail;
The Mailèd Fist is but a burglar's tool;
Gross cities swell with loot of great campaigns
The Vulture gorges where the Eagle strikes.

And each fresh slaughter dwarfs the breed of men.
The Unreturning ever were the Brave!

Nothing enduring yet in wrath was wrought;
No noble deed in hatred; evermore
The Master Builder works in soberness;
A world which reeked with wars, and reeks again,
The Prince of Peace in patience re-creates.

Oh, take away the frippery of war,
Its zest for glory, its mouth-filling lies,
Its rippling colors and resounding drums,
Its chargers, bannerets, and bugle calls,
Its heady wine of music and acclaim
That make a slaughter seem a holiday!

Oh, take away the sanction of the State,
That haloes murder with a holy light,

That makes our common hate seem Wrath
Divine,
And thunderous shoutings as the voice of God.

III

I do remember in the far-off years,
Through the long twilight of the August nights
(The nights of half a century ago),
I waited for my brother, whom I loved, —
I waited for my brother, and he came, —
Came but in dreams and never came again,
For he was with the Sisterhood of Fate;
Man is; Man is not; Man shall never be.

IV

How like a chasm yawns our history!
Still figures pour out from the Poisoned Wood.
I seem to see them on their fated way,
I seem to see them creep from death to death,
Full seven miles of crushed and wasted men,
Full seven miles of tattered shreds of men,
Some dazed with blood, not knowing what they
do,
Rising to fall, and falling not to rise.
Whither they go — What matter? They must
go!

IN THE WILDERNESS

If there be ghosts, they hover o'er this road;
If they be ghosts, they fill this Poisoned Wood!

Perchance no spirits wander of the slain,
For these are sleeping in the woodland glade,
The Blue for aye unsevered with the Gray.
Under that Flag where Hatred dies away
They rest as men may rest whose work is done,
The Horror lost in blest forgetfulness.
For they are with the Sisterhood of Fate,
Man is; Man is not; Man shall never be.

Yet there be ghosts here, ghosts that haunt for
aye!
Rising forever from the Poisoned Wood,
The Slain Unnumbered; those who, still unborn,
Through wistful ages never to be born,
Never may answer to their country's call;
The long, sad roll that lengthens with the years.
The sweet life wasted, widening with the years,
Those who have lived not, never yet can live;
Their fathers slumber in the Wilderness,
While these are with the Sisterhood of Fate,
Man is; Man is not; Man shall never be.

Shall God not fill another universe
With Life we waste in wicked wantonness?

WAR'S AFTERMATH

I

IN VIRGINIA

THE PROBLEM AT ISSUE

THE problem considered in this memoir is that of the determination of the racial or biological consequences of the War between the States of America in 1861 to 1865. It is well ascertained that eugenic or racial decline, which may occur in any region, is due to one or all of three causes: —

(1) Destruction of the fittest, through war or other cause producing contra-selection or reversal of selection.

(2) Emigration, by which the most energetic or enterprising pass on to other regions or in search of larger opportunities.

(3) Immigration, by which the vacancies are filled by weaker stock, "the beaten men of the beaten races."

These influences, nowhere wholly absent, have affected different nations in varying fashion. In the Eastern and Southern United States, a visible decline of average is associated with the first of these causes, and in certain localities with the second also. The third cause has been also potent, but mostly in the great cities and the centers of manufacture. The present discussion is confined chiefly to the first of these elements, the reversed selection of war. For purposes of intensity and accuracy, it is further confined to the Southern States and for the most part to two counties of the State of Virginia which are in a degree typical of the other regions involved in the Civil War.

It is evident, to begin with, that the loss of nearly a million of young men largely of superior social worth must involve a racial

injury to a country, both in its immediate effects and in its influence on future heredity. "Like the seed is the harvest." Heredity runs level, and the man who is left determines the racial future of the nation. No one could maintain on any grounds that such loss would be racially beneficial, however the political or social results of war may be estimated.

If this loss works racial hurt, as seems undeniable, even on the grounds of plain common sense, this effect should be patent now after an interval of two generations. However hard it may be to trace these effects, it will never be any easier in the future. No one misses that which he has never had, and the gaps of the past, however great, seem always to be filled. The eugenic effects of the Civil War constitute a matter of the highest importance, deserving of the most careful investigation, and no time in the future can be as favorable as the present for this work.

In the War between the States, the losses,

North and South, were approximately equal. These losses are usually estimated at about 700,000 men, divided in the proportion of 400,000 to 300,000. Counting all deaths due directly to the war, this may be held to be an underestimate, and for our purposes we may assume one million not unequally divided. This loss represented about two per cent of the white population of the North and about ten per cent of that of the South. Of the colored or negro population no account is taken in the present discussion. The Southern loss of human wealth was therefore five times as heavy as in the North, and the results of this loss should be correspondingly more evident. This is in fact the case, although in certain Northern States, as Vermont, Connecticut, Massachusetts, the loss was almost as great relatively to the population as in Virginia or Georgia.

This loss fell on the men of that part of the community racially most valuable, the

young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. At least forty per cent of these in the South died without issue. Even among the Southern States this loss was unequally distributed, Virginia and North Carolina apparently suffering most.[1] Virginia and North

[1] It is estimated that Virginia furnished approximately 165,000. There are no records of the killed and wounded. North Carolina claims to have furnished 133,905, of whom 42,000 were killed or wounded. The number of voters in North Carolina at this time was 115,000. The population of Virginia, according to the Census of 1860, was 1,596,318; of North Carolina, 992,622. A just comparison demands a deduction from Virginia's population of 442,014, the population of West Virginia (afterwards made a separate State) according to the Census of 1870. The proportion of enlistments to population thus remains about equal in Virginia and North Carolina, approximately 1 to 7. A complete estimate of the South's contribution in human values requires recognition also of the Southern men who fought on the Union side. According to Charles C. Anderson (*Fighting by Southern Federals*), "296,579 white soldiers living in the South and 137,676 colored soldiers, and approximately 200,000 men living in the North that were born in the South, making

Carolina were in the beginning opposed to secession, to slavery, and to coercion alike. From her strategic importance, Virginia more than any other State bore the brunt of the most persistent and most destructive of the hard-fought campaigns. Both Virginia and North Carolina were settled mainly by the same British stock, many Scotch being represented and in certain localities the Pennsylvania Germans. The racial quality throughout was high, and it may be assumed to have been about equally high and as good as the best in the United States or in the world, at the time of the outbreak of the war.

A survey of the eugenic conditions of the

634,255 Southern soldiers," engaged on the Union side. Of this number Virginia is said to have contributed 37,791, white and colored. For aid in the collection of these data we are indebted to Mr. John S. Patton, Librarian, University of Virginia; Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Princeton University; and Mr. W. S. Burnley, Assistant Secretary, Department Confederate Military Records, Richmond, Virginia.

whole South would be a matter of years or of a lifetime. In a single summer only a preliminary survey could be made, and this within a very restricted area. It was desired to select some locality in a degree typical where the original loss had been great and where there was a minimum of modifying influences, such as emigration, immigration, and the rise of manufacturing industries. For such purposes we would seek (1) relatively superior human stock; (2) relatively heavy loss of life; (3) relatively little change in social and economic conditions; and (4) relatively little of emigration or of immigration.

Certain parts of Virginia and of Georgia seemed to meet these requirements best. Hence we began with an intensive study of small districts to sift the evidence of the theoretically inevitable deterioration due to the loss of a large portion of the best young blood of fifty years ago.

WAR'S AFTERMATH

SPOTTSYLVANIA COUNTY

In attempting to begin this intensive study in Virginia the location first chosen was the war-wasted county of Spottsylvania, which borders on the historic rivers of Rappahannock and Rapidan, containing the city of Fredericksburg. Near this town is the scene of bloody battles known as "the Wilderness," this including Chancellorsville, Spottsylvania Court House, Salem Church, and the "Bloody Angle" in the forest near Spottsylvania. This county extends from its hilly lands, known as Piedmont, to the level river bottoms of the Tidewater district, and it is fairly representative of both. The Piedmont district before the Civil War was a region of small farms, largely tilled by their owners, while the larger plantations of the Tidewater were worked by slaves. But the social and economic changes in this region tend to obscure the biological effects of the

war, and these bulk large in their modifying effect on the results of the war-waste of this harassed region. It is hard to value these factors in comparison, and it was necessary to minimize them as far as possible in order to reach any degree of certainty. In all that part of Virginia east of the Blue Ridge, the best part of the human element was found in the life of the plantations. The war wholly destroyed the plantation life. So complete a social revolution unquestionably had an enormous temporary effect upon the apparent quality of the human stock, by reason of its grave interference with proper environment for full development. Sons of men once wealthy and highly educated grew up without schooling. Whatever backwardness might possibly obtain could almost equally justly be attributed to lack of opportunity or to deterioration of quality. The eastern part of Virginia, in many respects so favorable for our study, was in other regards quite un-

suited, for the further reason of a more severe industrial devastation than was suffered by any other section of the South. Moreover, emigration after the war was here especially prevalent. Biologic, industrial, economic, and social factors are so intricately interrelated as to make isolation of one or the other quite impossible; all these worked to some extent an apparently like racial effect by suppression of the best human stock.

ROCKBRIDGE COUNTY

In view of the above considerations, the Shenandoah Valley, or its southward extension, the Valley of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge, appeared to furnish the best point of attack. Since the life here was mostly that of the small farmer, home conditions were not seriously disturbed by the war. Home life after the conflict remained almost exactly what it was before. There were no serious economic changes, for this is a farming region

with practically no industrialism, and there had been little emigration or immigration. The stock in the Valley of Virginia is less English than east of the Blue Ridge, being largely Scotch-Irish and German.

In this region the county of Rockbridge seemed to meet conditions best, and in this county, and especially in the county town of Lexington, an investigation was attempted. This town is the seat of the university, known now as Washington and Lee, of which Robert E. Lee became president after the war, and of the Virginia Military Institute, in which Thomas J. Jackson ("Stonewall") was a professor. The people of this county were in the beginning and are to this day opposed to disunion, to slavery, and to coercion alike.

COBB COUNTY, GEORGIA

Considerable work was also done in Cobb County, Georgia, a rural district on the line

of Sherman's march, and therefore laid waste during the war. Most of our records from this county are concerned with economic and social conditions.[1]

PRELIMINARY ASSUMPTIONS

We began this investigation with certain preliminary assumptions derived from the general knowledge of the history of the Civil War. These served as a scaffolding for our work. They were (1) that the volunteers represented a better human element than the conscripts; since these went first to the war, eventually furnishing most of the leaders, seeing longer service and exposed to greater risks, they suffered the greatest loss; (2) the conscripts of the later period saw shorter service, incurred less risk, and thus survived more generally, to perpetuate their somewhat inferior type; (3) there was a considerable

[1] These will be elsewhere treated by Professor Krehbiel.

body who were exempted on account of physical weakness or disability, as also some who fled to the mountains, and thus were wholly preserved and bred their poorer types; (4) the third generation now in existence comprises representatives of the three types: survived volunteers, survived conscripts, and deserters and exempts.

VOLUNTEER AND CONSCRIPT

If the war in this section produced the effect of a contra-selection, then the three grades should still be evident among the present generation, and there should be a relative preponderance of mediocrity. We were fortunate in finding very complete records of the military companies from Rockbridge County. These showed who were the volunteers, who the conscripts, and who had deserted. However, there does not seem to exist anywhere a list of exemptions for disability. We were frequently told that there were no

such: everybody went to the war, the weak and sick as well as the strong; and frequently the weak and consumptive, we were assured, were greatly improved by the outdoor life and military discipline. Nor, it is claimed, were there any "cowards." But it was thus possible to compare the descendants of certain selected volunteers with those of conscripts, and both with those of deserters. However, it was soon discovered that our first assumption was too sweeping; as a class the volunteers were not notably superior to the conscripts, and for these reasons: the volunteers were largely young men who had relatively slight obligatory family ties, or who were in training in military schools for just such service. Moreover, when the calls for volunteers came, in a certain family of several sons, the father and all but one son would respond, one remaining to care for the farm and the family. When conscription came the remaining son also went; but he was not by any

means necessarily inferior to his father or his volunteer brothers. Again, there was a very considerable body of good men who were opposed to war as a settlement of political questions, who were not in sympathy with the Southern cause, or at any rate saw nothing in the contest which appealed to them to the extent of making them willing to risk their lives. These men did not volunteer, and at last they became "conscripts." While they probably in many instances made less serviceable soldiers by reason of their convictions, they were nevertheless of good human stock, sometimes of the best, and their offspring are of no lesser quality than those of volunteers.

THE DESERTER

For this reason the distinction between volunteer and conscript, from the standpoint of racial quality, is largely spurious. The same is true with respect to the second as-

sumption, namely, that deserters were of inferior quality to the others. Some of these, of course, fled to the mountains and remained there. It did not seem practicable to us to attempt to trace their progeny. Their eugenic status thus remains unknown. But we possess certain facts which show that deserters were at least not as a class cowardly and racially inferior. In a certain company the names of five deserters were recorded. The captain of this company is still alive, and described to us the quality of these men and the causes for desertion. In no case was the cause such as to indicate inferior quality. The five deserters were fully up to the average at least; only the pressure or temptation in their case was uncommon. For example, while passing through Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, one man was met by his sweetheart, who persuaded him to leave the company. We will not say that he was of "inferior quality" because deaf to military duty when

love called so unexpectedly. Again, some of the superior quality deserted because they sympathized more with the Union side, or saw nothing worth risking life for, or were opposed to war itself for "conscience' sake." But the vast majority of desertions came late in the war on the march from Richmond to Appomattox Court House, when most men realized that all hope was gone, and when their duty to their neglected families seemed to have prior claim. Some of these desertions on the way to Appomattox were occasioned at sight of home or family. The man to whom family ties make so overmastering an appeal is not of "inferior quality"! In short, there being no "cowards" to mention, all as a class were of fairly equal quality, volunteer, conscript, and "deserter." Such differences as existed lay merely in circumstances and not in innate quality.

THE MILITARY COMPANIES

It is commonly believed that the martial spirit was especially strong among the young men of the South in 1861, and that this fact, with the accompanying desire for glory, was a large factor in bringing on the war. There were in fact many military companies then existing, — a number much greater than at present, — and some men in these were doubtless influenced by the easy glories of the Mexican War. The war song, "Maryland," calls on

> "Ringgold's spirit for the fray:
> With Watson's blood at Monterey:
> With fearless Lowe and dashing May";—

and is otherwise reminiscent of this unfortunate episode in our history. There is no doubt that such companies existed in number, but mainly among the young aristocrats of the plantations and of the towns, and the great rural population of the South was little influ-

enced by them. These companies enlisted, almost bodily, at the beginning of the war, and their training had some effect in the early victories of the South. But their purpose, on the whole, was social rather than military, and their influence may easily be exaggerated.

STATISTICAL EXACTNESS IMPOSSIBLE

As we had expected in the beginning, it soon became evident that no mathematical estimate or rigid calculation of racial loss was possible. But it was still practicable to secure approximate results by less direct methods. We took advantage of every opportunity to interview representative men, and especially veterans of the war, on the questions at issue. From hundreds of these, valuable information was gleaned. These conversations were crystallized into a set of thirty propositions which were one after another to be tested. These propositions, usually in the words of some thinking veteran, were put into the

form of a questionnaire and sent broadcast over the South to the surviving Confederate officers and other men of intelligence, for comment and criticism.

ANALYSIS OF OPINION

In the remaining pages we attempt as a preliminary step toward further investigation to analyze the answers and comments of fifty-five of the answers received, laying especial stress on those who have been vitally interested spectators of the war itself, as well as of much that immediately preceded and all that has meanwhile transpired. Our best thanks are due these Confederate heroes for their painstaking efforts to help us in our attempt honestly to verify the final and most intimate argument against war, namely, that it robs a country of its fundamental asset, its best young citizenship, the potential ancestors of the "thoroughbreds" of the coming generation.

In the answers to our questions there was a wealth of information that lies outside the immediate scope of our quest, necessarily frequently impassioned, sometimes with narrow perspective, but always sincere, frank, and charitable. We have thus received here a glimpse of the spirit of the Old South such as we could never have derived from book or lecture. One is most profoundly impressed, as one reads these lengthy inspired comments, with the fact of unutterable loss in the slaughter of the million of similar souls of knightly spirits before they could leave their princely stamp on human issue. In the following analysis we purposely state largely the bare facts, stripped of all explanatory detail and sentiment. The assenting replies are frequently worded: "true, as a general proposition," or "true, generally speaking." By means of the longer quotations, selected from the more prominent contributors, an attempt is made also to present both sides of

the argument concerning the various phases of the subject under discussion, in every case indicating the position held by the majority. We may say that the opinions of only the obviously thoughtful, however radical, of our correspondents have been incorporated in this study. The tentative propositions are numbered serially, and our final conclusions briefly summed up at the end.

1. *The leading young men of the South were a part of select companies of militia and these companies were the first to enlist*

From this statement only two dissent, and several approve with slight qualifications. One explains that while these companies were formed of leading young men, they nevertheless did not contain the majority of them. "Not all or even a majority of leading young men were in the militia companies when the war came on. Most of them were engaged in private business — such as planting, mercan-

tile, and professional pursuits, etc. That class first volunteered." Another says that there were not many such companies at the beginning of the war, — only six in North Carolina, for example, — but were rapidly formed after the opening of the war. We are reminded also that this was equally true of the North. Here, however, the relative proportion of these leading young men to the whole number of the populations was so small as to make a much less serious impression upon future generations. Moreover, in the North they did not represent so large a proportion of individual families as in the South. A general comment is made that, "This is perhaps true of the towns and cities of the South; but the population of the South was overwhelmingly *rural*, and in the country districts there were few organized militia companies (corresponding to the National Guard of to-day). In the country, the volunteers came from the unorganized militia, without regard to military

training or *social position.* Speaking in general terms, the *infantry* volunteers came in largest part from the non-slaveholding class, while the *cavalry* commands were recruited largely from the slaveholding class — men who were able to *equip themselves* for mounted service. However, there were many cases where horses *were given* by men of wealth to cavalrymen who were unable to mount themselves.

2. *The flower of the people went into the war at the beginning, and of these a large part died before the end*

This thesis received unanimous assent. One contributor places the deaths at forty per cent of the enlistment. The relative seriousness from a racial standpoint of so great a war mortality depends upon whether it represented a large or small percentage of the total male portion of individual families. The percentage was frequently very large; in some

instances practically total. For example, the family of D—— (Virginia) consisted of five sons, all of whom went to the war. Four of these were killed and one died of typhoid fever directly after the war. One had married and had one child and one grandchild, both females, both now dead. A Georgia family of six sons lost three in the war. One of the survivors left a large family, but a son born during the war has "always been a weakling physically — the 'runt' of the family." This son attributes his weakness to the damaged vitality of his father by reason of the war, which left him invalided the remainder of his life. A Virginia family of G—— contributed seven soldiers (brothers or cousins), five of whom were killed and the other two wounded. Mr. N—— had thirty kinsmen in the war. About one quarter of these were killed. He had also three brothers in the army, two of whom were killed. "About twenty per cent of the first men enlisted pulled through to the

end. In each company most of the men were kin and recruited from their kinfolk." "When the war began Mr. C—— (of superb stock) was a lad of nineteen. Of twenty-six officers of the battalion he is now the sole survivor. That class of people is bound to disappear. But all that did not take to drink have done well since the war." A certain Georgia company of infantry numbering one hundred and nine members, the best blood of Georgia, suffered a fifty per cent loss including two captains. The University of Virginia went into the war almost as a body, and suffered a heavy mortality. Of the one hundred men who went from Liberty Hall (now Washington and Lee University) only three now survive. Of ninety men in a certain company every one of them was hit in the battle of Gettysburg. During the war only three old men and boys under sixteen were left in F——, A—— County. Of the students of the University of North Carolina between 1850

and 1862, eight hundred and forty-two, or fifty-seven per cent, were in the Confederate army, three hundred and twelve, or thirty-four per cent, were killed or died in service. A certain captain tells us that the regiment to which his company belonged "contained the best young men the country afforded. The great bulk of these were lost. Just as soon as we lost that type of man our cause was lost. These men could not be replaced." In consequence of the reversed selection which ensued, "the young men of to-day are not of the same caliber and high type as those of Civil War days."

"Certainly," remarks a contributor, "but the 'flower of the people' do not by any means represent the most desirable class either from the point of view of eugenics or from the point of view of economics. No one doubts, however, that it is to the 'flower of the people' that we must look for advancement in the arts and sciences, and for the advance-

ment in general racial culture. An aristocratic class is the continually vanishing precipitate from the solution represented by the great mass of humanity. As the families which compose the aristocratic class disappear, new families from the grades beneath continually rise up and take their places. The children of the aristocratic classes are few in number, more or less weak, and often defective physically, averaging about twenty-five per cent less in weight at birth than the children of 'the people,' with small and slender bones, small hands and feet, almost always defective dentition, etc., though powerful mentally; and an abnormal percentage is female; the males possess a very high degree of sterility. I cannot see how any race can be more than temporarily affected in cultural development by the entire removal of its aristocratic class; in two or three generations it replaces itself from the remaining elements of the population." It must be objected, how-

ever, that the "eudemic" doctrine, or drift attitude, expounded in the last quotation, entirely ignores the hereditary aspect of the civically significant and valuable human qualities.

3. *War took only the physically fit; the physically unfit remained behind*

This thesis failed to elicit assent from seven contributors. Three desire some qualifications. One suggests the substitution of "chiefly" for "only." Thus modified, it would probably be unanimously approved. Another suggests that there should be added "also the physically unfit, but morally fit." In short, in certain counties everybody between the ages of sixteen and sixty enlisted during the last years of the war. "Partly true," says one; "before the war had closed, all classes of people were participating in it. The junior reserves had been called out and many boys between sixteen and twenty years

of age from families of all kinds lost their lives." "Owing to the exemptions provided by the conscript laws passed by the Confederate Congress there were many who were *physically fit* for military service who remained behind — for illustration, those who owned or controlled a certain number of able-bodied slaves. Hence the frequent assertion made in the South by the non-exempt that it was 'the rich man's war and the poor man's fight.'"

4. *Conscripts, though in many cases the equal of volunteers, were on the average inferior to the latter both in physical and moral qualities and made poorer soldiers*

This fails of approval by only six. A number stress moral inferiority, but deny any physical difference. We are also informed that there were no "conscript companies." As conscripts arrived they were apportioned among volunteer and seasoned companies.

That the conscripts frequently made poorer soldiers is generally admitted. But the reasons given are various. The more important are that they had little or no enthusiasm, frequently feeling that they were fighting for the perpetuation of a condition which was baneful to them as small farmers. Moreover, they were more largely married men, and in consequence more discontented away from home. Good soldiery is as largely a spiritual as a physical matter. The statement that "the men who did not go into the war and had to be conscripted were the worst the South had" seems a little too strong. The comments are also made that "conscripts, being of a lower type than the volunteers, undoubtedly possessed a higher average of fertility and were therefore of value in providing in subsequent generations the laborers and tradesmen upon which the economic strength of any community ultimately depends. You must not lose sight of the fact that the conscript regiments

were not nearly so well officered as the volunteer regiments, which accounts for some of the difference between them. It takes first class officers to drive conscripts, while almost any one can lead volunteers"; and, "Many men of family who did not volunteer for service, but afterwards fell within the provisions of the conscript laws, were in every sense the equals of the earlier volunteers, the young men without families, and perhaps after their enforced enlistment made just as good soldiers."

5. *Considerable numbers of men fled to the hills and other places to escape conscription ("bushmen"), and others deserted from the ranks and joined them*

This proposition received the unqualified approval of less than half. The consensus of opinion is that the number of deserters was negligibly small. The admission is made, however, by a conscript officer, that it is

"undoubtedly true. Some would evade service, no matter how great the efforts to force them into the service. All kinds of imaginary ailments were pretended." Again it is contended that "there were few deserters in the Far South. It was frequently remarked that the squads of cavalry detailed to hunt deserters and to enforce the conscript laws took more good men from the front than all the conscripts and deserters put together."

6. *The volunteer companies, having enlisted at the beginning of the war, lost more heavily than the companies of conscripts which entered the war later.* ("*Those who 'fit' the most survived the least.*") *The deserters suffered practically no loss of life, however much inconvenience*

This proposition was denied by only one, and questioned by another. The latter remarks that it "looks reasonable, but will not bear verification. The men who were caught

in exposed places of battle suffered." The last sentence of the thesis cannot be questioned. But when one recalls the carnage at the foot of Marye's Heights, in the Bloody Angle at Spottsylvania Court House, and at the battle of the Crater,— as well as the fact that the heavier fighting took place in the later years of the war, and that there were no "conscript companies," — it needs qualification to an extent robbing it of most of its significance. As to the original secessionists, few of whom went to the war, it is maintained that only one or two made good soldiers. "They were mostly politicians or simply agitators." Still their children are "just as good as those of the volunteers. Many of these were professional men, for which account they were excused from service. Also most of them were close to the age of exemption. As a rule the laboring class made extremely good soldiers, and contributed few 'bushmen.' Conscripts were gener-

ally men of large families fully dependent upon them for support. They were perfectly loyal, but did not feel that they could leave their families. All men who went to the war were equally good."

From a different section we have the following from the grandson of the leading citizen before the war: "G—— at the outbreak of the war was a rich, intelligent, and aristocratic place, which cannot be said of the place to-day. All the families were broken up after the war, either through death or emigration. Young men had to go elsewhere to make a living. The best men were killed in the war. These men volunteered and were exposed to dangers of all sorts. The poorer types had to be conscripted and most of them took such good care of themselves in time of danger that they returned. The present generation is not up to the Civil War standard. There were twenty or twenty-five young men of my generation who distinguished themselves and

were a credit to the community and the nation. I can think of only three of the present generation who have brought credit to themselves or the community. The same can be said of M——, a place with which I am familiar." It is further urged that "This distinction between volunteer and conscript companies is hardly justified. Most men who were forced into the service by the operation of the conscript laws took time by the forelock "and enlisted in previously existing volunteer commands."

7. *The result of this was that the men of the highest character and quality bore the brunt of the war and lost more heavily than men of inferior quality. This produced a change in the balance of society by reducing the percentage of the better types without a corresponding reduction of the less desirable types; a condition which was projected into the next generation because the inferiors*

lived to have progeny and the others did not[1]

This receives a bare majority of "ayes." In view of what was said under number 6, the criticism, "too general," and, "statement a little too strong," seems justifiable. However, the following by a soldier of exceptional intelligence and high social and business attainment deserves quoting: "The best men were killed off by the war, causing a deterioration of human stock, but it is impossible to tell the extent of this deterioration. The fellows who held back raised inferior stock. No deserter of the Army of Virginia has ever

[1] Thus in the Liberty Hall — Washington and Lee University — Volunteers, — a company of the Stonewall Brigade, — from Lexington, Virginia, forty-eight of the seventy-six who were alumni of Washington and Lee University lost their lives or were seriously wounded in the thirty-two battles from Manassas to Appomattox. Of the one hundred and six non-alumni in the same company forty men were lost.

amounted to anything. Twenty years after the war, the men who had fought through the war had been helped to their feet again, but not by the men who had stayed out of the war. The only decent thing in the South is that which came out of the Southern army." Another says, the best of to-day are the descendants of the aristocrats who adapted themselves to changed conditions. And another asks, "What shall we say about the large number of people in Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and other States, who were opposed to the war from principle, and refused to take up arms against their 'flag' until they were drafted? No 'aristocrats' on earth are their superiors. They are themselves the real aristocrats." It is objected that the statement is "hardly justifiable. It was notorious that the cavalry commands, recruiting largely from the 'best blood' of the South, suffered less in proportion to numbers than the infantry commands,

made up in largest part of those not equally favored by fortune."

8. "Eighty per cent of the best blood of S—— was lost in the war." — "I believe in blood in men as I do in horses"

Here the *sentiment* wins full assent. One declines, however, to accept it as true of men in the same degree as of horses, "except as blood determines environment and traditions." A majority deny that the percentage of loss was as high as eighty per cent. The highest admitted among the objectors is sixty per cent. One suggests that the sentence should read "constructive ability" rather than "best blood." "On the whole, it is no doubt true that the upper classes of Southern society suffered losses of disproportionate severity in warfare. It must, however, not be forgotten that the constitution of Southern society, as of other aristocratic organizations in history, was largely artifi-

cial. I do not say with certainty that the Southern aristocracy had an influence beyond its merits. But I think it was true to a considerable extent that it contained elements no longer worthy of their influential position. Slavery was injurious to practical efficiency, and as a result of it many sons of well-to-do families were lazy and dissipated, drinking being prevalent throughout the South. On the other hand, there was in the lower strata of Southern society a great amount of native ability suffering to be liberated, and to a large extent this was liberated, not so much by the war as by the social reorganization which ensued upon it. In that respect the war had somewhat the effect which the period of the Revolution and of Napoleon had in France, the 'carrière ouverte aux talents'. The political control of the South during the past twenty years seems to have been mainly in the hands of persons whose fathers or grandfathers were

of the class that had one slave apiece or no slaves. Often they have been coarse but vigorous persons, though not always with capacity for growth nor with a generally high character. Now in industrial life the leadership of such persons has been much more beneficial, I imagine, than would have been that of the scions of the old aristocracy, who often seem rather helpless persons, with more refinement than vigor. These things of which I have spoken are not so much results of war as of this particular war and the crumbling of the old aristocracy." A critic's comment is that "the idle and the thriftless — the ne'er-do-wells — volunteered quite as promptly as the 'bloods'; and bullets and camp fevers were no respecters of persons."

9. *"We can only judge of those who died by the success of others." — "We should have accomplished a great deal more in these fifty*

years if we could have had the help of the men who fell in the war"

This thesis evoked much comment. It gets a bare majority of affirmative replies. One calls it "true almost beyond comprehension"; another disagrees utterly, maintaining that "war stimulated to better manhood." One remarks that "no man can fail to believe in blood who has lived fifty years"; another holds that the Confederate martyrs "did more good for the South by their heroic death in the cause of a great principle than they would have done if alive"; and still another, "the force of their example has done wonders."

Half of the best were killed. The South suffered immensely from the weakening of the breed, but only meager records were preserved and no authoritative estimate can yet be made. Virginia had 165,000 men in the field; of these only 10,000 are now living.

There is no record of the lost, "we can only judge of those who died by the success of others." "There is, of course, a good deal of nonsense about this talk of blood, in the South, as elsewhere," we are warned. "In the North and in the South alike, with very few exceptions, the American nation in its first two centuries was composed by transplanting to this country a large section of the European middle class, with a little of the dregs and almost none of the aristocracy.[1] The plain people rose to be aristocrats in the South by acquiring property of one sort, just as in more recent years they have risen to be 'society people' in the North by acquiring property of another sort; nevertheless, it in many ways does people good to suppose that they are of high descent when they are not. I am accustomed to say to the young people around me

[1] See *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia*, by Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker: Michie Co., Charlottesville, Virginia, 1912.

that the American nation consists of two sorts of people, those who are descended from lower middle-class English and are aware of it, and those who are descended from lower middle-class English people and are not aware of it. The latter feel much better." One admits that "the standard of the younger generation is not up to that of the war, but this fact is not necessarily chargeable to the war. There is undoubted truth in the theory. The percentage of loss among the higher classes was greater than among the lower and there has been a lowering of the level of manhood. However, the change is largely due to changed economic conditions. It is impossible to measure the loss of these young men." "There is only one opinion on this question. It is true and we would have recuperated more rapidly. Their deaths are an irreparable loss to the South." "Of course, in every sparsely settled country — where the point of 'diminishing returns' has

not been reached — the loss of life told more seriously upon economic progress than in an older region more densely populated."

10. "*Widows of soldiers suffered great hardships and most of them never remarried; the death-rate among them was unusually high for the first ten or fifteen years after the war*"

This is denied by a sole contributor, who calls it "romancing." Several question its strict accuracy, suggesting that "a large percentage" or "many" would more nearly express the actual fact than "most." "There can be little doubt but that the stress and strain of war, with its untold privations, told heavily in shortening the lives of women."

11. "*The sweethearts of many a victim of the war never married; with the elevation of the middle class and the lack of men of their*

own class many girls of the aristocracy married men beneath them in station"

This receives less hearty approval, only a fifty per cent affirmation. It would undoubtedly have met better success if "some" were substituted for "many." However, the chief dissatisfaction seems to be with the concluding clause. The comments are, "imaginary"; "very few Southern women married 'down'"; and, "station is not synonymous with strain." "It is true that women of culture, born of the planter class, have married men who came up from the non-slave-owning class — strong men who balanced the *vigor* that comes from manual labor on the farm against the *culture* of the upper class." However, after due allowance for qualifications the general approval of the last two propositions answers the frequent criticism of the position that war works "reversed selection" through the destruction of a

large quota of superior males, namely, that this takes no account of the females of similar quality who are subject to no such destruction: these frequently do not marry, or are compelled to marry poorer strains. The latter result, however, is far from a racially unmitigated evil, regarded in a broad and democratic sense.

12. "The farmers are now of a lower type than before the war" [1]

This proposition is very emphatically denied by many, and objected to by most. It is undoubtedly mistakenly worded. I gather from the replies and comments that the statement is true only if comparison is implied between the ante-bellum planters and present-day farmers. If actual farmers are meant to be compared, there remains still only a meager assent. "The 'poor whites' as a rule are making good. They, too, are largely good

[1] Opinion of a Virginia attorney.

stuff. Their faults are largely those of lack of education. With proper training they develop efficiency. The middle class in general are doing better than the sons of slaveholders." We are told also, "This is an error. The *small* farmer of to-day is immeasurably superior to the small farmer of the old régime — and as for the 'planters,' perhaps honors are fairly even between those of the two eras."

13. *"All over the State the class of men attending courts does not measure up in intelligence or in ideals with those before the war"* [1]

This proposition is left untouched by a number. It wins assent from about half. It is questioned by some; vehemently denied by others and as emphatically affirmed by a few. One man who was on the bench for thirteen years remarks that there is "no

[1] Opinion of a Virginia judge.

question of the truth of this." "I think," says another, "that any judge in New England would unqualifiedly make exactly the same statement, and so would any of the older magistrates in British Guiana or in the West Indies." "Far below it," says a third. "My observation as a lawyer for many years has caused me to remark about it."

14. "The public men of the South do not measure up to those of old times"

This statement is given lengthy consideration in the comments. It is approved by about half, in some instances unreservedly, in others with qualifications. The most frequent reply is that the same is true of the entire country, "commercialism absorbing the nation's strength that formerly went to public life." In proof of this proposition, one recalls the fact that the South furnished nine out of the fifteen ante-bellum Presidents. One accounts for the Southern dearth of

public men of towering ability on the basis of negro suffrage; and one reminds us of a lack of superior statesmen throughout the world; e.g., England. An explanation of the apparent fact is attempted by several on the ground that there are now so many public men of cardinal ability as to render their existence commonplace; again, that the stimulus for superior efforts is lacking, and that if the occasion demanded, giants would loom up from among the "common people." The war had little to do with "this numerical degradation of public men," according to a Tennessee correspondent. "It is the moral depravity of the whole body politic; a universal subsidence of the morals of the electorate, produced by the money of the vastly rich. This is true of the whole country from Maine to California, and from the Lakes to the Gulf."

"Intelligence is not identical with mental superiority, and social standing certainly is

not so," says another. "There are a number of assertions that in the Civil War the better men were killed and the worse survived. Inasmuch as in most wars losses by exposure, disease, and neglected wounds amount, all told, to far more than losses by immediate destruction in battle, there is a very important way in which the strong tend to survive and the weak to perish. Those who at bottom have the best constitutions are less likely to be carried away by other influences than the bullets that kill or mortally injure. Assertions as to whiskey rather favor the idea that an undesirable element was carried away when the highest class perished in greater numbers than the middle class." "The public men of the South, judging from the pages of history alone, are superior to the 'hot-headed,' so-called aristocrats before the war. The public men of the South are the equal of the public men of any other section of the country." "Men like John T. Morgan,

of Alabama, L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, and Ben H. Hill, of Georgia, were the peers of any group of ante-bellum Southern leaders; but it is true that they belonged as much to the old régime as the new, for they grew to manhood before the War between the States." Compared with those of fifty years ago, the public men of to-day are inferior, according to one correspondent, "in intelligence, broad views, high sense of honor, charity, and capacity to conduct governmental affairs." "There are men in the South to-day as wise and efficient as ever in former times, but the number of strong men is relatively fewer."

15. "*After the war the best of the middle class — farm managers and commercial men — rose to equality with the remnants of the old aristocracy*"

This is generally approved, though emphatically denied by four. One comments

thus: "They did not have to rise; they simply asserted themselves." "Why should n't they?" asks another, "they represent the class from which the aristocracy had been continually replenished; the process of replenishment was temporarily accelerated, that is all." "There were many cases where the non-slave-owning 'overseers' became the owners of the plantations which they had formerly superintended for the slave-owner," explains another. "They understood the management of labor better than the former owner, and grew rich, in some cases, as the former owner became impoverished."

16. "The Civil War destroyed the cream and stirred up the dregs"

This is not approved. Many remark that it is "too sweeping" or "too strong." This is undoubtedly true. It is denied by a number of exceptional thoughtfulness and of special opportunity for becoming conversant with

the facts. There is probably more than a grain of truth in the assertion that "the 'poor whites' of the South have never had justice done them. They are much better raw material than is generally supposed." "The writer of the above [i.e., statement number 16] is an extremist," is the comment of one, "and the true historian would do well to avoid taking him seriously."

17. "The men who got themselves killed were the better men" [1]

"True, good men of all classes were killed, but no one class had a monopoly of getting killed."

18. "The present deterioration of human qualities is due to lack of schooling rather than to impoverishment of blood"

As to this, few admit any *deterioration* in

[1] Compare with this the old French proverb, — "A la guerre ce sont toujours les mêmes qui se font tuer."

human quality. Several attribute it equally to impoverishment of blood and *inferior kind* of schooling. One, a Confederate soldier and still an influential teacher of youth, debits deterioration to the overthrow of political ideals and the loss of family and state "pride." Another, of similar qualifications and position, attributes it to "too much schooling by girls." Still another blames "bad newspapers." But the majority would apparently more probably subscribe to the opinion that "the Southern youth is better, stronger, freer, and more aggressive than ever"; and that "the standards are as high as ever in the world's history." A certain woman who has been an intelligent spectator of events in Virginia for the past sixty years, admits a degeneration, physically, intellectually, and morally, but attributes it to the demoralization of the home, following the breaking-up of plantation life. "There has been no deterioration on the *average*," main-

tains one, "while there has been more than a corresponding gain in the masses."

19. *"Loss of courage in face of financial ruin was a greater damage than loss of blood"*

This is unanimously denied, questioned, or very materially qualified. One will assent if the word "financial" is changed to "constitutional." "Loss of spirit" is only considered a very temporary influence. The most that is granted is that it was a certain small factor. The general opinion seems to be that "the result of the war was only to stimulate the people of the South to make more of themselves; they met the situation strongly and nobly." Nevertheless, one remarks: "This was the prevailing sentiment. I have known good men to take to drink, give up all efforts and die from trouble at their misfortunes, saying, 'All is lost — life is a burden.'"

"Many of the planter class could not recover from the blow dealt by the upheaval in the industrial system in which they were bred; but the above statement appears too strong," is still another comment.

20. *"One element of deterioration came from the people of the North who for commercial reasons sought the conquered districts"*

This is warmly approved by a few. By most, the "carpet-bag" influence is evaluated as "very temporary" and of "no importance." "Here again we get a grain of truth, but it is a half-truth. There was a class of people who came from the North whose presence was then, and has continued to be, a blessing to the country. The one great mistake of all, and the one which has done more to affect the South in every way, was the outrageous treatment of the people by the 'carpet-baggers' and the fanatics. The giving of the ballot without qualification or

preparation to the negroes was a blunder which has deepened into a crime. The negro should have been made to earn his citizenship." "This element was inconsequential, except in politics, where its influence was baleful beyond description in setting up the 'carpet-bag'-negro State Governments in the South under the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, which were bolstered up by federal troops."

21. *"Whiskey was the curse of the Southern aristocrats."—"The aristocratic failures were mostly hard drinkers"*

This is practically unanimously denied. The frequent comment appears that whiskey is a "general curse," not typical of section or class. "Heredity kills an aristocracy as surely as whiskey. There is no evidence that whiskey was worse for the Southern aristocracy than heredity has been for that of the North," is the comment of one contributor.

22. *"Cousin marriage (common in the higher social circles in parts of the South) may have been in some degree a harmful element"*

One correspondent affirms this most emphatically. However, it is almost unanimously denied or questioned. The general opinion seems to be that it has been a negligible factor in determining racial conditions, more prevalent in aristocratic communities, but not confined to any particular section of the country. But one says, "Yes, and their offspring from my observation were physically and mentally very weak, they died young, and many were consumptives."

23. *Emigration has weakened the South as much as war*

This thesis also is generally questioned. One sees an advantage in the Southern emigration common immediately after the war, in that it served to bring the Western and

Northern sections of the country into "closer sympathy" with the South. The most that can be admitted is that emigration was a small contributory factor in the racial impoverishment of certain portions of the South. Also, "the influence of foreigners must have been equally important in reducing our standards with losses in the Civil War." "I think, judging from conditions in the North, a vast deal more," remarks one. "For what emigration can do to a country, look at Spain, which at the time of the discovery of the American continent possessed the finest people in the world. The Spanish people are now getting upon their feet again, but it has been a terrible struggle. I may add that the reason that the Spanish race has not done better in America is that they promptly interbred with the far inferior native races, and with the imported Africans; in other words, they lost all of their really best blood to America, where it became hopelessly di-

luted with blood of a very inferior quality." "These young men of the South after the war came West to enrich a vast area of country," explains one. "Some regions, like Missouri, Minnesota, California, Oregon, and so on, appealed to these young men more than the regions that, like Kansas and Iowa, had fought in the Civil War. They went to regions of the West that welcomed Southern people, and gave a chance for success. Although they broke with all Southern tradition as to business, these people were, so far as my *personal* knowledge goes, gentlemen always, born slaveholders, impoverished by war, with education varying according to the measure of mishaps." "Emigration has taken from the South a large number of its best men and women: those most positive and aggressive in character, most energetic and having most faith in their own ability." "It is estimated that 235,000 natives of North Carolina now live in other States." This

emigration began in 1850, and was greatest from 1860 to 1870.

24. *"The strong fell first in battle, but the weak fell in camp; so that the balance remained about the same"*

This is generally approved. It is denied by seven, and questioned by six. One dismissed the proposition with the word "Sophistry." "The term 'strong' needs defining. It would be better to say 'energetic,' though this does not quite convey a truthful meaning. The man who falls first in battle is the man of restless disposition and often misdirected energy; he, in a typical manifestation, is represented by the so-called soldier of fortune. If he stays at home he is likely to become a destructive social element, a demagogue or similar type. This kind of man, in times of peace, is better as a dead hero than as a living member of society. The better-balanced men

in the regiments, mentally and physically, were those that survived, so that the last part of the statement is correct. War is always useful in, to a large degree, eliminating the aggressive and destructive element in any community. I believe that without an occasional war the increase of this element (provided, of course, that they did not emigrate) would quickly result in national decay, preceded by violent local outbreaks. War has the great advantage of holding up before the people and glorifying a well-balanced human type, the soldier, to serve as a breeding model for the women, like china eggs in a henhouse. In times of peace the breeding model is the man attached to the largest bank account regardless of anything else, at least in the older communities." "No," says another, "one strong man was worth as a citizen a dozen weak ones."

25. *"Inestimable damage was done by the war in the South by preventing men from securing a proper education"*

This is denied by only four, and questioned by four. The idea is advanced by several that the war "educated men," and that "the necessity for working out their own salvation was of more value than book-learning, and made them men." "Unquestionably this is true of the upper classes. Many boys and young men designed for college courses were never able to take them, being cut off by four years of war and poverty afterward."

26. *"The war could have been avoided if patience and good sense had been shown"*

The comments on this thesis are most interesting and varied. Those that agree are in the small majority. The correspondent that says, "No one can answer this intelligently"

is perhaps nearest the truth; or the one who says this is "A proposition of too many sides to be discussed here." We are reminded that "Lincoln and Lee held practically the same view; they were representative of a large and influential element in the United States." The suggestion is made that there was needed in addition a "reasonable respect for constitutional rights." Disregard of constitutional rights is a frequently recurring criticism in this group of comments. The idea is expressed that "the seed was sown when the Federal Constitution was adopted. It had to come." One believes that "two Confederacies would have been better than war and subjugation." The latter opinion is given weight by inclusion of the fact of the enormous waste of Southern manhood. "I do not agree with what is written under this number. The seeds of the Civil War were planted in the Constitution of our Government. If slavery had to be abolished, war was inevitable. This

institution was recognized and protected in the organic law. The owners could not with patience submit to its abolition or destruction, without remuneration, and remuneration would — could never have been made. It was not a question of patience, but of degradation and dishonor — to submit to taking this property without voluntary consent of the owner, and for a just pecuniary equivalent, was to become a nation of poltroons. Even if the loss to the South in human life, and in property, and the whole train of evil results of this unhappy conflict, could have been seen from the beginning, I do not think 'good sense' required or could justify tame submission to the unthinkable disgrace which was required. From the utilitarian standpoint I understand it can be said it is no worse to submit to the inevitable before the catastrophe than after all this carnage and loss, and good sense would demand the former. Not so! A man, or state,

or section, or nation without the spirit and determination not to submit to injustice and spoliation tamely, is worth preserving. No single man or people is lowered in the estimation of himself, or the balance of mankind, for submission, no matter how hard the terms, to that which by imperiling his life and all that is near and dear to him, he could not avert. With this sort of sentiment, our exhausted — well-nigh ruined — condition, can in a sense be retrieved; but with no such spirit, for that people there is no future but degradation and pusillanimity." "To this my answer would be '*yes*.' But it seemed to be in the Eternal Counsels that nothing but war would satisfy the nation, North and South. Henry Clay's proposed solution of the slavery question, about 1840, involved an expenditure of twenty-five millions of dollars, spread over several decades of years; and would have involved no breach of peace; would have caused no ill-will be-

tween North and South; and would have left the whole situation better than it was at the close of the Civil War, or, indeed, than it is now. But North and South rejected the Clay proposal or suggestion, and slavery was abolished at the cost of at least five hundred thousand of the best lives the nation had to give, and the blotting-out of values North and South to the amount of over ten thousand millions of dollars." "No power on earth could have stopped it. The conflict was inevitable." In her novel "Cease Firing," Miss Mary Johnston, through her character of Allan Gold, thus sums up this matter. "What do I think? I think that we were both right and both wrong, and that in the beginning each side might have been more patient and much wiser. Life and history, right and wrong, and the minds of men look out of more windows than we used to think."

27. *"The democratic equality of the high-born and low-born in the camp was good for both; the pampered sons were helped by the democratic severity of their work, the ignorant by contact with good manners and culture"*

This is very intelligently and warmly disputed by a number. The majority are inclined to qualify. Such effect was probably very transitory. "No — there was no association to bring about such a condition. Education and refinement will always hold high above ignorance and vulgarity. Military training and service bring out the best qualities and also develop the mean qualities of a man." "Undoubtedly the war was a strong educational force for the non-slave-owning Southern soldier whose mental horizon had been bounded by his neighborhood of a radius not exceeding fifteen or twenty miles: he *saw* things that he had never *read* or dreamed of before. But it is doubtful if it

had *any* corresponding educational value to the ruling class."

28. "Social lines vanished during the war, and have not reappeared"

Only eight assent to this unreservedly. What "social lines" existed, perhaps "never deeply marked at any time in Virginia," were natural and could not so easily be obliterated. They appeared less sharp in camp, but their apparent disappearance was only very transient.

29. "The war made men work, and this alone has been a great blessing to the South"

Here the intimation that Southern men did not work before the war is emphatically denied. Likewise the further deduction that the "end of life is work." Still, a bare majority approve the statement, and the remarks that "not only in the South have men

needed incentives to work" may be said to approximate the consensus of opinion.

30. *"The South is the better by far for the spread of education, for the willingness to work, for the loss of slavery, for the maintenance of the Union, and for the development of business. But for the war, as war, there was no redeeming feature, no benefit to any one, not one word to be said"*

Only one seriously dissents from the concluding sentence; and four deny parts of the first sentence. The following comments may be noted: (1) "The loss in blood and energy, and the demoralization cannot be calculated. It emasculated manhood North and South and built up graft. Pensions only weaken men"; (2) "Reconstruction was worse than war"; (3) "Too strong, but the curse of the war was heavier than the blessing"; (4)

"The South is poorer for her loss of hold on the ideals which actuated her struggle"; (5) "The war was worth all it cost to the South"; (6) "The war was a blessing in many ways to the South. The South is one hundred years ahead of what it would have been without the war"; (7) "The disturbance of the social arrangements of the ante-bellum days among the aristocracy, 'poor whites,' etc., etc., was biologically a good thing, since these class distinctions had ceased to be based largely on excellence of strain"; (8) "It is not unimportant to feel that there is something worth fighting for, worth dying for. It would be hard to say what there is of such worth in our present commercial-industrial life"; (9) "More menacing than war is the infertility of the 'best' of men, but more especially of women"; (10) "The world has become commercialized because the idealists have been killed off."

The opinion of an eminent judge seems worth quoting: "There is a degeneration of stock all over the country, but this is due to our social environment. We accept the principle of contra-selection but I think it difficult to prove. There are just as good men to-day as there were at the time of the Civil War, only the time does not give them the opportunity to show their ability. The deserters and the conscripts were often men who had to look after large families. The average of Rockbridge County is up to its usual standard. Families which were entirely wiped out by the war are the exception. There was usually enough left to keep the stock up."

A Confederate general expresses the opinion that "the thing which will finally stop war is a conviction of its uselessness rather than any of its biological consequences," and "that pensions have done more harm than good, especially in the North. One great

cause of the depression in the South is the drain of pensions. The South pays $60,000,000 in pensions per year. Of the pension budget total of $4,500,000,000, $1,000,000,000 has been paid by the South. North Carolina pays $4,000,000 per year, receiving $770,000 in return (this, besides paying $400,000 in Southern pensions to Southern soldiers). Indiana pays a little more and receives back $10,000,000 per year. The pension list is full of fraud. One $6000 judge in M—— draws $72 per month for total disability. A late Commissioner of Pensions at $7200 draws a pension for total disability. The pension list is kept up and increased to make a high tariff seem necessary. To keep up the tariff, the gaps in the pension roll must be kept up. So with warship expenses. They raise the rate of pensions because they cannot extend their area."

In a certain Southern State the reversed selection of the war is held responsible for the

type of governor. "The aristocratic counties of my State are completely faded out by loss of their leaders in the war. The same is true of the principal city ——. The men left are weak, undersized, and the State has few men fit for leadership."

In a more Western State the punishment of the war is said to have fallen on "the old, fine, proud, pompous, hospitable aristocracy. It wiped out a third of it and impoverished half the rest."

"The spread of education among the masses I consider has been the greatest curse which has ever come upon the country, North or South, just as it has been the greatest evil the West Indies have ever had to contend with," says our radical eudemist. "Work here, of course, means manual labor; willingness to perform this kind of work means inability to perform any other kind, either from lack of opportunity or from lack of personal incentive." On the contrary, it

is urged that "education has been of great benefit. Employment for all an advantage. Loss of slavery makes life better for future generations. Business is more diversified and progress greater. The number of mulattoes has decreased since the war. Union with equal rights and consideration for all sections is far better with sectionalism obliterated. War is a curse to any nation or people."

"The evil effect of prolonged war in destroying the most virile males is manifest not only in the Southern States of America after the Civil War, but also in the Northern States, especially the New England and Middle States. Ben Butler as Governor of Massachusetts, Tammany rule in New York City and State, Quay rule in Pennsylvania, etc., were made possible by the *inferior citizenship* that they represented. The Southern-Civil-War soldiers were so far superior to the post-bellum generation that they controlled and directed public affairs in

the South (generally speaking) until about 1900, when practically all of them were dead; the same is true to a great extent of *many* Northern States; it is difficult to find for thirty years after the war a conspicuous Southern leader who has not been a soldier."

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we are impressed that with respect to the eugenic aspect of the Civil War we are dealing with matters insusceptible of precise determination. Many factors united to work an apparently racial effect; these factors are so intricately and reciprocally interrelated as to preclude definite isolation and tracing of the complete effects of any one. The patent results are thus more or less matters of environment as well as of differences in germ-plasm, of euthenics as well as of eugenics. We hesitate to attempt even a guarded definite conclusion. Perhaps it were

better to leave it to interested readers to draw conclusions each one for himself. We have presented the matter largely in the words of those who have given us the best of their life experience. A just weighing of all this evidence, however, leaves a decided balance in favor of grave racial hurt in consequence of war, and this certainty is cumulative, becoming more definite with the consideration of each new area. Each of the other baneful racial influences associated with the problem, social, cultural, and economic devastation, emigration, pensions, etc., is nevertheless the direct consequence of war and should be debited to it. Moreover, even granting that the South and the country as a whole are, relative to ante-bellum days, no poorer racially in consequence of the war, — an assumption no one can maintain in the face of the enormous waste of one million splendid souls, —it is further certain that, could we have had the inspiring pre-

sence and wise counsel of these martyrs and their potential offspring, the country would now be immeasurably better off in a yet higher average of physical, mental, and moral stamina. In brief, the theoretical argument for reversed selection seems beyond question. The actual facts concerning our Civil War and the events which followed yield no direct countervailing evidence. We must, therefore, decide that the war has seriously impoverished this country of its best human values. No one who has the right to speak, North or South, ventures to regard this war as a source of vigor or virility to the nation. In spite of its thousands of examples of heroism and self-sacrifice, it was plainly a strife between brothers, and a strife in which no one gained through his brother's loss.

Nor does any competent authority in America maintain the singular heresy of certain public men in England, that the waste

of virility due to war can be repaired by compulsory or voluntary military drill. If we assume that such drill gives increased physical and mental vigor, an assertion true only in a slight degree, the fact remains that such results would not be perpetuated in heredity. No training, mental or physical, can raise a man above his possibilities and it is the possibilities only that his children inherit. The events in a man's life leave no trace in actual heredity and none in transmission, unless the events have consequences which impair the vigor of the germ cells. Those of us who believe in the value of sound physical training to the growing youth cannot admit that barrack life is in any worthy degree a substitute for it.

Edward H. Clement, of Boston, referring to these investigations, has used these striking words: "Ever since the last quarter of the last century the lamentation has been heard: Where are the poets of yesterday? Where are

the historians, the philosophers, the political leaders, the moral reformers [of Boston], whom the whole country and the world gladly followed in the liberalizing of thought and of religion. In the light of the emphasis on the degeneration of nations through their glorious wars, answer might well be sought in the Roll of Honor [1] of Harvard Memorial Hall. The price was worth paying, no doubt. The ones who gave their lives in the Civil War most certainly thought so. But the price was exacted all the same. There stand the names of those who, but for this sacrifice, might have continued the glory of Boston in all the higher reaches of intellectual life, in national politics, and in social advance."

The Civil War was followed by the extinction of slavery, by the maintenance of the democracy, and by the spread of the free-school system of the Union throughout the

[1] On this roll are the names of ninety-six men from Harvard University who fell in the Civil War.

rural districts of the South. That all these results were most desirable, even vital to the extension of civilization in the New World, no one may now deny. But we may hesitate to ascribe any of these results directly to the Civil War. Sooner or later they were inevitable in the life of the people concerned. The exhaustion of the South opened the way, but their final establishment on a basis as permanent as any human institution can be is due to their innate relation to wisdom and righteousness, and not to the results of any campaign. If these were wrong, they would not have endured. If the struggles of blood and starvation had left at the end a wrong decision, it must sooner or later have come up again for judgment.

A splendid summary are the words of the Confederate officer who gave us our proposition 30: "The South is the better by far for the spread of education, for its willingness to work, for the loss of slavery, for the mainte-

nance of the Union, and for the development of business. But for the war, as war, there was no redeeming feature, no benefit to any one, not one word to be said."

We may finally close this discussion with the words of one of the most successful soldiers of the nineteenth century, William T. Sherman. On May 21, 1865, he wrote to a friend, James L. Yeatman, "I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. Even success, the most brilliant is over dead and mangled bodies, the anguish and lamentations of distant families, appealing to me for missing sons, husbands, and fathers. It is only those who have not heard a shot, nor the shrieks and groans of the wounded, friend or foe, who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation."

II

WAR'S AFTERMATH IN MACEDONIA

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN

SOME two years ago the Balkan States formed an alliance for the purpose of freeing their kindred people in Macedonia from the rule of the Turk. They chose for this purpose the most costly, wasteful, futile, and uncertain method possible: the method of war. It is clear that war was not the original purpose of the allies — at least not that of Bulgaria. Some sort of moral or political suasion was expected to follow from mobilization. But such possibility was dissipated when the King of Montenegro advanced on Scutari.

The conditions in Macedonia seemed to justify any sort of interference. The rule of the Turk is always inefficient. The race, being

primarily military, has always failed in civil administration. Long periods of careless tolerance have alternated with savage massacre, the attempt to eradicate all those with a different religion or a different language. Moreover, Macedonia was beset by bands of outlaw patriots, "comitajis," working in rough fashion for the freedom of Macedonia, the one band for its independent autonomy, the other for its union with Bulgaria, the majority of the people of Macedonia being of Bulgarian origin. The changes in politics in Constantinople brought to the front the "Committee of Union and Progress," and to this committee "union" means the conversion, banishment, or massacre of all elements alien in religion or in speech. The same spirit of politico-linguistic intolerance pervades all the rest of Europe, extending in its degree to Schleswig, Trieste, and Alsace-Lorraine, as well as to Finland, Poland, and Macedonia. And in Macedonia it gave rise

to the proverb, "Better an end with horror, than horror without end."

The Balkan War began in an honest spirit of altruism. But as war is hell, its atmosphere is hate. Victory breeds ambition, and ambition in the use of force means moral perversion. The meddling of the Great Powers led to the dismemberment of Macedonia, and that, under the inflamed conditions then existing, made the second war inevitable. Now Macedonia is a desert waste and the conditions in the Balkans are worse than ever before. But of this Europe ceased to take notice. It had deeds still more hideous in contemplation. It is a common expression in Sofia, "Europe n'existe plus," ("Europe no longer exists.") And that is true so far as concerned any help or guidance Europe might exert over these sorely tried young nations of wrangling shepherds, maddened by victory, defeat, injustice, and murder.

A friend in Bulgaria writes (April, 1914): "There could be no better illustration in the world of your often repeated belief that 'war does not settle anything.' The Balkan peninsula has always been a problem. To-day the problem is keener and more acute than ever before. It has come to be a terrible plague, an awful curse. Life here is wretched. Man is doomed. The fruits of these superb valleys are misery and agony. The only deeds upon which our magnificent mountains look down are murder, rapine, streams of blood, and fields of bones. And there is no way out. The very breezes breed hatred and our wild tempests shriek revenge. The birds sing to us of past injustice. The streams soothe our spirits with the intoxicating whisper of future revenge. Our fathers taught us to remember the Bloody Turk. We teach our children to remember the treacherous Greek."

The basis of these hatreds is not primarily

war. Nor is it to any great extent the difference in race. At the bottom it is religious intolerance. Difference in language is the most obvious sign of heresy in religion. Through this intolerance nearly a million people, almost half the people of Macedonia and Thrace, have lost their homes and savings since the war, and are wandering as refugees among people of their race who give them scanty welcome.

In October, 1913, my Bulgarian correspondent wrote: "The lot of the refugees is wretched beyond description. Those in Samokov are dying daily from cold and privation. They are without homes, property, schools, and everything else, including hope. Then added to this hopelessness is the fact that the Bulgarians do not like these refugees. They tell them: 'My brother is lying dead in Macedonia because of you, and now you come up here to live in my house, eat my bread, and take my job. Get out.'

And the refugee answers: 'Who told you to come down to Macedonia and trample down our vineyards, eat our flocks, and then run off and leave our village to be burned? I don't care if your brother is dead in Macedonia. My brother is dead, too.' The Bulgarian will survive all this because he is of such a nature that he cannot be entirely conquered, but the process of recovery will be terribly, terribly painful."

In May, 1914, the writer, accompanied by his friends, Dr. John Mez, of Munich; R. H. Markham, principal of the American School at Samokov; and Emil F. Hollmann, of Oxford, crossed Bulgaria and Macedonia from the Danube to the Ægean Sea. Among other things we saw the burned towns and the refugees. In western Bulgaria a single good highway leads from Sofia to Salonica. Down this highway the Turks fled in the first Balkan War, the Turkish population following them. Up this road the Bulgarian

troops fled in the second Balkan War, followed by the Greeks. While the Roumanians were burning their homes, the Bulgarian farmers had no stomach for fighting Greeks. After the Treaty of Bucharest had divided Macedonia from east to west by an artificial line the Greek army retreated from Bulgarian territory, followed by most of the Greek population, burning towns and bridges as they went, as the Turks before them had done.

All the way from Sofia to Petritsch, the border town, we saw the groups of refugees. From Simlivit, the northernmost town of Bulgarian Macedonia, to Petritsch, every town — Dzumaia, Livonovo, Kula, and the rest — has been burned, wholly or in part, scarcely a house within reach of the moving armies being left with a roof over it.

In Petritsch, hundreds of refugees from the Salonica district sit about on the rough stone sidewalks waiting — waiting for the

revision of the Treaty of Bucharest. Some newspaper had said that the Powers would revise this shameful treaty so that these people could go back to their homes. But that revision[1] will never come. "Europe no longer exists."

One man in Petritsch, a citizen of West Virginia, had come to Macedonia to settle his father's estate, a good farm near Salonica. This he had lost; and as a refugee he was keeping a little food shop competing with many others for the trifling purchases of

[1] Again my friend writes: "It is impossible for us to stay in the frying-pan, but we don't know just what fire to jump into. A belief is inculcated and widely accepted that Roumania and Turkey are both going to return to Bulgaria the land they took from her. Our northeast boundary will be as of yore, our southeast boundary will be Enos Midia. England, I believe, is the godmother who will bring this about. When we are 'licking,' let the big bullies keep their hands off. When we are being whipped, we implore their help, curse them for their delay, and build spacious air-castles out of their unsubstantial promises."

half-starved people. "The cost of living has doubled; the means of living are gone."

In Sinjelovo, a little Bulgarian town on the Greek side of the made-up boundary, the men had all been driven across the river into the Bulgarian holdings. The women remained and gathered the crops. In general, the women harvested all the Balkan crops in 1913. Thanks to the help of rain and sunshine, the harvests were most bountiful.

The great highway crosses the border on a bridge over the little river Bistritza ("clear water"). Here we found encamped the growers of tobacco, "Turkish tobacco," from "a little Dead Sea of Commerce," the rich valley of Strumitza. The Bulgarian growers were not allowed to pass the border. The buyers came up from Salonica and the crop was transferred from the hundreds of bullock teams to a host of buffalo carts and a train of camels headed for Salonica. Incidentally the owners paid a duty of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per

cent for the privilege of crossing Greek territory. Incidentally, too, we may notice that the Treaty of Bucharest has cut off most of the hinterland from the seaports of Salonica, Cavalla, and Varna. The effect of this on Salonica has been most hurtful. The high tariffs and excessive taxes "have made this the most critical period in the history of Salonica: the Government of Athens treats its new provinces as the goose with the golden egg." [1] "The cow that gives the milk for military aggrandizement at Athens is the New Greece."

Crossing over into this new Greece, we were for two days in the camp "Christos aneste Hellas," the guests of a division of the Greek army, charming young men on the whole, many of them citizens of the United States. Some of these were possessed with the "On to Constantinople" idea, but one of them confided his belief that war brought

[1] *Die Information*, April 22, 1914.

no good to Greece, nor could he see why Christians should want to kill each other.

At Demir Hissar, where the highway crosses the railway which connects Adrianople with Salonica, we met the Greek refugees from Thrace. These were living in box cars at the stations, a dozen or two at this and each of the other stations on the road. At the larger towns, as Kilkis and Salonica, they were gathered in great tent cities, ten thousand or more in each place. All these towns on the road between Drama and Salonica, originally half Bulgarian, the rest Greek and Turkish, had been burned in whole or in part by one or all of the three armies which passed through them. For the history of these conflagrations I refer the reader to the report of the Carnegie Commission of Investigation. As to this monumental piece of work I may say that I believe it to be absolutely trustworthy, as just and as accurate as such a report could be made. It is

not pleasant reading for the most part. It was not easy writing, but the cure for the evil conditions which have prevailed and still prevail in the Balkans rests on knowing the truth as to the disease. Publicity would cure most of the larger evils from which all Europe is suffering. "There never was a good war nor a bad peace." In this Benjamin Franklin was essentially right, but no bad war ever gave way to a good peace. War fills the ground with the seeds of other wars, and while these spring up, peace exists only in name.

The refugees at Demir Hissar came from the region about Adrianople. These had been driven out of Thrace to make way for Albanian refugees from Servian rule in Novibazar. These Albanians gave the Greeks from two hours to four days to vacate their holdings. The Government refused passports or protection. The farmers were not allowed to go to the towns to sell their prod-

uce and they had no alternative but to go. With the Turk, as more or less with the other Balkan nations, "union" means one flag, one religion, and one language, and aliens are given the choice of immediate conversion or banishment, or in extreme cases massacre. The whole situation was summed up by one Thracian farmer in the Italian word "duro" ("hard").

But these conditions were not so hard as those of the Bulgarian emigrants, for these fled in the autumn and winter. The Thracians set forth in the perfect weather of the Macedonian May. To the children this movement in crowds from place to place, cooking rice on fires of weeds, had all the charm of a picnic.

It is estimated that there are about three hundred thousand of these Greek refugees in Macedonia. Little by little they are settled on farms and in villages abandoned by Bulgarians and Turks. It was said that fifty

thousand of these had come from Asia Minor, driven out by boycott and ostracism before the disturbances in Smyrna and Mytilene. It is estimated that about forty-five thousand Bulgarian refugees from Turkish Thrace are at Burgas. In a recent Turkish journal is a plea for bringing these back to Thrace: "These Albanians are more expert with the mauser than with the plough. They show no skill in any trade save that of cattle-thieves, while the Bulgarians are thrifty and industrious, and they are now our friends."

It is said that the towns about Varna are crowded likewise with Bulgarians driven by the Roumanians from the Dobruja district filched by them through the Treaty of Bucharest.

Out of Greek Macedonia before the 1st of June 212,000 Turks had left the port of Salonica. Most of these went as steerage passengers on the steamers for Constantinople, carrying with them their scanty be-

longings. These have been placed in part in properties abandoned by Greeks in Thrace, and in part, it is said, on the property of inhabitants of Asia Minor. Many of these are Pomaks, Bulgarians converted to Islam. It is claimed by the Greeks that most of these have come from Servian and Bulgarian Macedonia.

Some Turks are still left in the towns of Bulgarian Macedonia, to all appearance mostly idlers. In Greek Macedonia, there are still many Turks. The number is roughly estimated at sixty thousand, most of them being in the larger towns. Turkish teamsters and other laborers are numerous, while Turks of the wealthier classes are abundantly in evidence in the Salonica cafés. In Bulgarian Thrace, Greeks are unwelcome, but no attempt has been made to expel the Turks. About a dozen Turks have seats at Sofia, and these constitute the majority of the present "liberal" ministry over the demo-

cratic and anti-war elements, the combined radicals and socialists in that confused and incoherent body. The priests of the state church still call for war and urge their flocks "not to listen to the godless prattlers who talk of peace. What Bulgaria needs is war." But more war would be suicide. The socialists print in black headlines, "Let us meet violence with violence." Even from her own soldiers Bulgaria would seem to be in danger. Their experience with Roumania sickened their ardor. If they were gathered together again with guns in their hands and brought face to face with another awful summer, it is possible that they would make a violent and bloody protest. The Bulgarian is the most long-suffering of men, but there is a limit beyond which he will not go.

Chiefly it is those who do not do the fighting who want more war. The condition is different in Servia and in Greece, where vic-

tory has brought its inevitable demoralization. The militarist is in the saddle, and the wise and conservative counsels of the ministers, Paschich and Venezelos, count for little so far as the management of Macedonia is concerned.

In Servia the Bulgarians are mostly not allowed to leave, but are forcibly converted into Servians. Their "religion" and their names are changed together. Papoff becomes Papovitch, Radosloff is Radoslavitch, and the young men are at once forced into military service.

Race differences are not held of high importance. The visible essential is linguistic uniformity, with subordination to the Greek patriarch instead of to the schismatic exarch at Sofia. It is not strange that in the confusion many Bulgarians turn toward the more stable influences of the Roman Catholic Church. The belief, partly justified, that Russia has betrayed and abandoned Bul-

garia helps to give force to the movement away from the religion of Russia.

The final legacy of war is corruption and hate. The "heroic war," to quote the headlines of the London journals, becomes inevitably the "squalid war," the "mad war," the "sad war."

But in all this, the uninformed and selfish meddling of the Great Powers has a large responsibility. The Treaty of London, for well or ill, created the mythical kingdom of Albania. This was not for Albania's sake, but to quiet the jealousies of Austria and Italy. The treaty deprived Servia of Durazzo, Montenegro of Scutari, Greece of Epirus, thus overturning all agreements among the allies as to the adjustment of the liberated lands. The inevitable alternative was the dismemberment of Macedonia, and as no provision was made for enforcing tolerance of any kind in the heated combatants, no tolerance exists. Some sort of autonomy

should have been given to Macedonia. Its lands should have been in some fashion held in trust for its people, and the rights of person and property of all the varied races in this long-suffering land should have been held in respect. Some provision for safeguarding the rights of men is not too much to expect of a concert of Powers assuming to represent the most advanced phases of world civilization. If the Powers could not do this, — and it seems that they could not, — they should have kept hands off.

With half the effort spent in wresting the village of Scutari from the hands of King Nicola, it would seem that the second Balkan War could have been forestalled and the unfortunate adjustments at Bucharest would never have taken place.

But all this is past history. The fact accomplished cannot be changed, and the great migration, like that forty years ago from Alsace-Lorraine, cannot be turned back-

ward to the abandoned homes. There is some degree of hope for the future, wretched as the present condition may be. The new populations will take new roots in time, and in new interests men forget to hate. Where exhaustion makes war impossible, there is time for mediation and for conciliation. Bulgaria, most humiliated of all, offers, for that reason, if for no other, most hope for the future. The most powerful influence in all southeastern Europe for good will and good order exists in Robert College at Constantinople. This is democratic, international, and Christian. Its hold is stronger in Bulgaria than anywhere else. The intellectual leaders at Sofia are very largely its graduates.

In any case, there can be little progress in the Balkans until settled quiet gives opportunity for agricultural, industrial, and educational advance. And settled quiet is still far away. It awaits the time when the civil authority shall everywhere dominate the

military, and where customs unions, coöperation in business, and coöperation in thought shall lead these people to recognize that one fate befalls them all and that the welfare of each Balkan nation is bound up in the welfare of its neighbors.

THE END

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